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Descriptors-Career Change, Career Choice, *Career Planning, *Counseling Theories, *Personality Theories, Vocational Counseling, *Vocational Development

These seven theories of career development are examined in previous chapters: (1) Roe's personality theory, (2) Holland's career typology theory, (3) the Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrod, and Herma Theory, (4) psychoanalytic conceptions, (5) Super's developmental self-concept theory, (6) other personality theories, and (7) social systems theories. Osipow contrasts them with regard to their strengths and weaknesses by two general criteria. Formal adequacy subsumes: (1) explanatory adequacy, (2) empirical support, (3) generality, (4) parsimony, (5) operational adequacy, and (6) logical consistency. The understanding of career development includes: (1) normal development, (2) problems in career development, (3) facilitation or modification of career behavior, (4) critical periods and agents, (5) the role of interests, (6) the role of aptitudes, and (7) the role of the family. Osipow evaluates not to find the superior theory, but to show in which context each is most likely to be useful. He finds them generally lacking in formal adequacy, and finds differences between theories in choice of emphasis, suitable research methods, and the degree that relationships between events are specified. (BP)

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Theories of Career Development

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8

A COMPARISON OF THE THEORIES

We have now examined in considerable detail seven major viewpoints concerning the process of vocational decision making and subsequent career behavior. In so doing, the theories have been scrutinized, the relevant research described and its implications for the theories considered, and applications of the theories to the problems of human career behavior discussed. The next objective is to contrast the various theories with regard to their strengths and weaknesses according to a variety of criteria. As a result of such a comparison, it might be possible to reach some conclusions not about which theory is the "best," but rather under what conditions one theory might be more useful than another as a conceptual guide. Furthermore, such a comparison might be a useful stepping stone to the consideration of a synthesis of the theories and directions for future theorizing about career behavior. In this chapter we will compare the theories with regard to two general criteria: the formal adequacy of each theory as a theory and the adequacy of each theory in contributing to the understanding and facilitation of career development.

FORMAL ADEQUACY

Theories may be assessed according to a number of criteria. In this book, we have chosen to consider theories in terms of their explanatory adequacy; the degree to which they are supported empirically; how general they are, that is, how broadly they are related to other bodies of scientific literature, data, and observation; the simplicity or parsimony of their concepts; how operational they are with respect to translations

into both research and practice; and how logically consistent or inconsistent they are.

Explanatory Adequacy

Explanation in science characteristically accounts for phenomena at increasingly detailed levels of observation or introduces hypothetical concepts which relate events and describe the nature of the functional relationship between two sets of observations. The first kind of explanation is commonly called reductionistic, the second type constructive. Examination of the theories reveals that all are constructive in their explanation of the phenomena of career behavior. The theories offer little in the way of reductionistic explanation. Nevertheless, there is some variation among them. For example, Holland's theory (1959) identifies the function of constructs which underlie vocational behavior, while most of the other theories describe both the *development* and *functioning* of vocationally relevant constructs.

The trait-factor approach, similar to Holland's theory in conception, explains little about vocational behavior, relying more on description than explanation. Similarly, the sociological thinking about career development is mostly descriptive in nature and attempts to illustrate the situational parameters that influence vocational behavior. Only the need theories have any substantial degree of reductionism inherent in their explanation of career behavior. Since needs include a physiological component, the needs theory approach to occupational behavior can be viewed as reductionistic to the degree that physiological needs may be reduced through vocational activity, such as food earned and ingested to reduce hunger or sexual energy sublimated through vocational activity.

Most of the theories, thus, are clearly constructive, ranging from Holland (see Chapter 2) who identifies constructs which underlie vocational behavior to Super (1953, see Chapter 5) who postulates hypothetical constructs and processes, such as the self-concept and the interaction with situational events, to account for career behavior. In general, there seems to be little to choose among the theories as to explanatory adequacy because of their great similarity in explanatory approach. The theories are generally descriptive rather than explanatory. Only the more recent writings of Super (Super *et al.*, 1963b) seem detailed and explicit enough to provide the basis of an explanation of the career development process.

Empirical Support

While the explanatory modes of behavior are very similar among the theories, the range of empirical support is wider and more varied. Some data exist on which to assess all the theories, but variations exist even in

the degree to which different theoretical points of view have stimulated research. With a few exceptions, the research on career behavior has not been experimental in nature. Ordinarily, research designs have used convenient samples and have observed the behavior of subjects over a period of time, concentrating on possible differences in vocational behavior as a function of the original sorting into groups. For example, groups sorted on childhood experiences are expected to enter predictably different occupations, or students scoring in certain ways on personality instruments are expected to express vocational preferences of a predictably different kind than other students with somewhat different personality traits. Only rarely have conditions similar to those of an experiment been arranged.

In addition, the research has gradually been shifting from an emphasis on the testing of response-response laws to the examination and production of hypothetical constructs (Borow, 1960). The theories of career development have played a significant role in stimulating this change in research activity, since the theories have provided guides in the development of predictions and hypotheses and in the identification of profitable areas of investigation.

A considerable proportion of research based on Super's theory has resulted in empirical confirmation of the two fundamental aspects of his theory: that career choice is seen by the chooser as a way in which to implement his self-concept and that throughout life one is confronted with a series of career developmental tasks which specify the particular vocational decisions that must be made. The only significant shortcoming in the data concerning Super's theory is its limited range. Careers like nursing imply a great deal of personal involvement and opportunity for self-concept implementation, but the question is raised concerning the amount of self-concept implementation possible in clerking in a dry cleaning store.

The behavioral style approach to personality and career has strong empirical support, but it, like Super's theory, has been applied to a very limited range of career situations. As for Holland's theory, the descriptive elements have had some experimental validation, but the results have by no means uniformly indicated the validity of Holland's personality types and their relation to career membership or goals. Thus, Holland's theory needs to reconcile the discrepancies that exist between measured personality style and the modal personality required for satisfied functioning in a given occupation.

Psychoanalytic concepts have received mixed empirical support because of the wide variety of specific approaches and variations in their translation into operational terms. Thus some concepts, like the role of identification with appropriate adult models in career development, have received considerable empirical support, whereas the notion that psychic energy may be sublimated in vocational activity has received little sup-

port, because it is difficult if not impossible to make the latter problem explicit enough for research.

Needs theory, personal values, and the Ginzberg group approaches all have some empirical support, but the relevant data suffer from serious deficiencies. The needs and values data are too dependent upon paper-and-pencil tests and produce data which are largely of a response-response type. These data are subject to interpretations in addition to those consistent with the theory under discussion. The Ginzberg group produced data relevant to its theory, but the sampling limitations of the study very seriously interfere with the inferences that may be drawn from the study.

The sociological theories set out to be more descriptive in nature than the other approaches, so the criterion of empirical support does not fit as well to them as to the other approaches. In a similar way, because of its heuristic conception, the trait-factor approach is strictly empirical and thus, the data obtained in the trait-factor frame of reference can only be supportive, or it would be excluded from the trait-factor frame of reference. Only one theory has consistently failed to be empirically supported. Though the research design is open to some criticisms, the investigations testing Roe's theory have almost uniformly failed to provide validation.

Generality

Several distinctive referents in basic psychological literature have served as anchors for the theories of career development. Virtually all the theories have roots in personality theory to some extent. The range has varied from the one extreme of a mere nod in the direction of personality theory, illustrated by the needs or values approaches, to the other extreme of the development of a miniature personality theory, exemplified by the work of Holland (1959) or Roe (1959).

In addition to personality theory, however, other streams of thought have influenced career development theory. Principle among these has been developmental psychology. The influence of developmental concepts has been strongly felt in the work of Super (1963a), for example, in the concepts of the vocational developmental task and in that of Roe (1957) in the emphasis she has placed on the role of early family experiences on the development of childhood personality traits.

Psychoanalytic thought has permeated psychology in many ways, and in addition to the explicitly analytic theories of career development, it has influenced the work of Roe, Ginzberg and associates (1957) and the social systems line of thought (see Chapter 7). Because of its emphasis on the role of childhood in shaping personality, psychoanalytic thinking has injected another aspect of developmental psychology into career development theory. Learning, too, has been superimposed with

personality theory in the behavioral style stream of research on personality and career. Motivation and reinforcement are brought into the analysis of career behavior in the consideration of the way in which personality styles develop and are maintained, and in a sense, the personality style line of thought about careers is more closely attuned to psychological concepts in general than the other theories.

Somewhat more divorced from the center of psychological theory are the needs and values approaches to career development and the trait-factor and Holland approach. The latter two theories share a dependence on the testing movement, to which Holland's theory adds a dash of Spranger's (1928) "types of man" approach. Despite their basis in personality theory, the needs and values approaches applied to career development have taken an empirical form and consequently are distantly related to psychological theorizing in general and instead have become heuristic.

Parsimony

Most of the theories are more than adequate on the criterion of the parsimony of the concepts they introduce to describe and explain vocational behavior. Some of the theories may be even too parsimonious with the concepts they employ. The trait-factor personality approach (see Chapter 6) is almost a nontheory since it is basically empirical in nature. The viewpoint merely proposes that certain personality traits are more likely to be associated with some occupations than others. The needs and values approaches (see Chapter 6) go one step beyond the trait-factor theory, adding the postulate that the particular values and needs (constructs in themselves) a person has influence his choice of career, his behavior in it, and the degree to which the career satisfies him.

The Ginzberg (1957), Super (1953; 1963b), and personality style (see Chapter 6) models are essentially simple proposals. In the Ginzberg and Super approaches, the principles of developmental psychology play a major role. Neither theorist has significantly embellished those principles. The personality style system actually extends the needs approach since it generates principles to describe the way needs motivate human behavior in a vocational setting. Roe and Holland have also built their theories on only a few major concepts. Personality types, the level hierarchy, and environmental factors form the basis of the Holland theory, while genetic factors and family experiences are fundamental to Roe's theory.

Operational Adequacy

The question of how operational the theories are must be considered in two parts, that is, the ease with which the theories lead to research

applications and their relevance to program development and counseling. Generally, the theories appear to be more adequate when their research applications are stressed than when they are examined for counseling applications. Among the theories easiest to convert into research terms are the personality style, Super, trait-factor, needs, and Holland theories.

The trait-factor, needs, and Holland theories are similar as far as research is concerned. Fundamentally empirical in nature, their hypothetical concepts (if any) are close to the descriptive level of behavior, and hence, translation into research follows rather easily. The occupational preferences, persistence, or satisfaction of a population, sorted by needs, personality, or some other variable is observed and related to the theory.

Super and the personality style approaches form another set. They are not as easy to translate into research terms, not because their concepts are more comprehensive, but rather because the interrelation between the concepts is complex and requires sophisticated research procedures. The personality style approach lends itself, better than all the other views of career decision making and behavior, to the experimental method. Super's theory, on the other hand, seems to be best suited to longitudinal research concerning patterns of career behavior over long periods of time.

The remaining theories (Ginzberg, psychoanalytic, social systems, Roe, and values) are difficult to implement in research terms. The difficulty lies primarily in the diffuseness of the concepts they employ (*cf.* psychoanalytic, Ginzberg, values), or in the relative inaccessibility of the important data (*cf.* Roe, social systems). Only the psychoanalytic theories of career development are contorted and exaggerated. These approaches have typically introduced the complex concepts of psychoanalytic theory in general to describe career development.

Logical Consistency

Only two of the theories have serious problems of internal inconsistency. Roe's failure to deal adequately with the effects of changing family environments on personality development poses a problem. Children are not always treated the same by their parents; two parents may have different styles of child rearing; parents may react to children differently at different ages; a parent may die. All of these introduce apparently insoluble difficulties for Roe's theory. Explaining adult behavior in terms of childhood environment under these circumstances is nearly impossible. In a similar vein, the Ginzberg group theory suffers from some logical difficulties by introducing pseudoconcepts which can easily serve as explanatory loopholes if events do not occur as predicted.

THE PROCESS OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Normal Development

The main thrust of several of the theories is in the descriptions of how the career decisions of normally developing people evolve. The theoretical treatment given to normal career development seems to follow one of three general lines of thought. Roe (1957), Super (1959; 1963a), Ginzberg and associates (1957) and psychoanalytic thought all describe career behavior fundamentally in terms of general concepts of human development. Super emphasizes how the self-concept is shaped. According to Super, each phase of life exerts its own particular emphasis on human behavior, including individual vocational behavior. It is thus possible to chart, in general terms, the activities of a vocational sort that are to be expected of an individual living in Western culture.

The Ginzberg approach, similar to Super's, describes career development as a series of events in a predictable sequence. Each aspect of the sequence presents the individual with a particular set of problems to be solved. Thus, in the vocational realm, the Ginzberg theory attempts to predict the sequence of behavior relevant to career decision making. Ginzberg's approach does not lead to the prediction of occupation as much as it allows one to anticipate the vocationally relevant behavior an individual will engage in.

The developmental flavor is also prominent in the psychoanalytic approach to career behavior. While the developmental phases of analytic theory are not as closely attuned to career behavior, the analytic approach places a heavy emphasis on the idea that personality development is crucially related to the events of early childhood and that the ensuing personality causes the kind of occupational behavior that may be seen later.

Roe's description of the normal career development process is not as explicit as Super's description. She assumes that individuals differ physically and psychologically at birth. Added to these differences are the effects of parental attitudes and behavior styles which lead the maturing child to favor one of a number of interpersonal styles of behavior. The combination of the genetic features and the familial patterns leads to the prediction of general vocational behavior. Roe's theory is primarily concerned with predicting what kind of occupation a person will choose, but says little about vocational development subsequent to the choice.

Both the Holland and social systems approaches emphasize the view that vocational behavior is situationally bound. In the social systems approach, normal career development must be viewed in the context of

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its situational determinants, such as social class membership, economic opportunities, and the organization of the world of work. For Holland, the important situational determinants seem to lie more in the individual's organization of his perceptions of the vocational world and how he might best interact with it. Thus, the youth, according to Holland, might develop images (or stereotypes) of the activities involved in a variety of kinds of work and then try to integrate these images into his own view of how he fits into the world. The determinants of his view, of course, probably include factors such a social class membership and personality development as emphasized by the other theorists.

The other personality approaches, trait-factor, personal style, needs, and values, are really weak conceptually in their characterization of normal career development. The only generalized view expressed by any of these approaches is that of the trait-factor group, that people with certain traits in common will be engaged in occupations similar to one another. It fails, however, to describe how these people came to resemble one another. These approaches, rather, are likely to be built upon one of the developmental lines of thought concerning career behavior. They illustrate how personality might influence or be related to career behavior once the personality pattern of the individual has developed.

Our review of the theoretical views of normal career development reveals several significant attitudes. Rarely does a theory attempt to predict a specific occupational choice. More typically, the theories predict entry into general vocational areas, personality requirements of general career areas, influences that may shape personality in vocationally relevant ways, and age level behaviors of importance to career development. In effect, the theories emphasize all the nonability aspects of human behavior that relate to vocational preference, selection, attainment, and satisfaction, and pay very little direct attention to the role of aptitudes in career behavior.

Problems in Career Development

Before one can consider how career development can go awry, some clear idea about the meaning of misdirected career development must be developed. For example, it might refer to vocational indecision, conflict, or failure, or to a choice that is not consistent with information about the individual. In fact, depending upon the theory under consideration, it might be any of these. According to the developmental theorists, career development goes awry when individuals fail to keep pace with the demands of their culture or their age mates. Ginzberg's group specifically points to several behaviors that must develop in order for mature career behavior to occur. The ability to perform the reality testing task, the development of a mature time perspective, the ability to delay the grati-

fication of desires, the ability to compromise, and the ability to identify with appropriate adult models are all important. If these abilities fail to materialize during the adolescent period, career decisions will be inadequate and the individual will continue to be employed in a career in which he is dissatisfied or he will engage in numerous unsatisfying occupational pursuits.

The Ginzberg group also specifically related the ability to make good vocational decisions to emotional stability, a relationship that most of the theorists seem to regard as valid but which has only on occasion been made explicit, notably by Super and by the psychoanalytic writers about careers. In general, it is agreed that if the psychological development of the individual fails to progress adequately, career development will not progress smoothly. Unfortunately, many theories have failed to show how career development can become misdirected in theoretical terms.

Roe and Super are not explicit about how career development can go wrong. It is possible, however, to infer from Super's writings that problems of maturation in general are related to the proper performance of the vocational developmental tasks required at a given age level, much in the way the Ginzberg group suggests. Similarly, in describing the shaping of the self-concept, Super leaves the way open for inferences to be drawn about what factors might create distortions in self-concept and what effects these distortions might have on career behavior. For Roe, the question of misdirected career choice is not appropriate since she has described how choices are made without seriously trying to evaluate their adequacy.

Holland's theory is very explicit about how poor career choices may be made. Holland discussed this problem in terms of conflict or indecision in career matters. If the modal personality style leads to an occupational decision that is blocked and there is no strong second modal personal orientation, vocational indecision will be observed. Similarly, if two orientations are nearly equal in strength, conflict in vocational decision will occur. In terms of abilities, a poor choice could be made if the individual did not evaluate his talents accurately and thus his level hierarchy was over- or underinflated. In that case, the individual would either be observed to aspire to a career which might be consistent with his modal orientation but too difficult for him, or choose one that failed to use his talents sufficiently.

The theories rely on four main factors to account for misdirected career development. Most prominent of the four is the likelihood of a retarded rate of development in general, which causes an individual to fail to have the skills necessary to cope with the vocational developmental tasks relevant to his age and position level. The other three factors, inadequate emotional adjustment, inaccurate self-evaluation, and frozen

behavior between two attractive behavior sequences, are seen as possible sources of difficulty but do not seem to be viewed as pervasive in causing difficulties in career development.

Facilitation or Modification of Career Behavior

Of all the theorists, only Super has written extensively about how career development may be corrected if it has gone astray or how it might be facilitated in the normally developing individual. Given Super's emphasis on the total life span, it is not surprising that he has devoted attention to the applications of career development theory to practice. The vocational developmental tasks enumerated by Super point the way to programmatic and individual approaches to correct and facilitate career development. According to Super, specific programs for adolescents should expose them to the necessary information for making the decisions required of them at that stage of development in order to avoid future errors or to correct past decisions. All through the life cycle, programs may be developed to enable people to make these decisions on a sounder basis.

While interviewing represents only one aspect of Super's approach to the facilitation or correction of career behavior, for most of the theorists, interviewing remains a primary procedure. The Ginzberg group generally proposes that if career development is not proceeding as it should in an adolescent, efforts should be directed toward the identification of his present stage of development, and experiences should be provided which accelerate the individual through previous periods of development and bring him to his appropriate level.

Aside from interviews designed to provide more insight into an individual's personal orientation, Holland's theory might lead to the proposal to exert more efforts toward the identification of satisfactions to be obtained in various work environments, as well as instruction for the individual to help him exert more control over life situations open to him. Picking the "right" school or industrial organization should provide a work atmosphere conducive to vocational satisfaction.

Since psychoanalytically oriented career counselors devote their energies to the identification of how and where an individual's impulses may be expressed vocationally with the greatest adequacy, their main efforts are devoted to interviewing procedures which attempt to lead to greater awareness of impulses and the identification of wholesome ways to express them in general. Roe's theory, too, leads the counselor to help his client in trying to understand the forces that shaped his personality and better identify the conditions under which he might work with the greatest satisfaction.

Critical Periods and Critical Agents in Career Development

Once again, several distinctive lines of thought about when the most significant experiences for career development occur and what the critical sources of influence are emerge upon examination of the theories. The Ginzberg group and Super fall into one category. These writers agree that among the most critical agents influencing career development are the kind of adult models available during youth and adolescence, and for Super, models continue to be important. According to Super, many important periods of life exist for career development, largely because there are numerous points in the life span when critical decisions affecting careers must be made. The Ginzberg theory emphasizes the age range from about ten to twenty-four years, since it is during this period that educational and vocational decisions are made affecting one's entry job.

Roe and the psychoanalytic writers seem to form a second category of thought about important periods and influences on career behavior. Both of these views emphasize the role of parents during early childhood in the shaping of mature personality. According to both of these approaches, later events exert a less significant impact on occupational behavior. Holland, personal values, personality behavior style, and the social systems approach form a third view. Although none of these treat any particular period of development as crucial, they do have something to say about the sources of influence on decisions. For Holland, family factors, left unspecified, and social institutions are highly critical in the development of personality types and occupational images as well as opportunities. Similarly, the social systems view places a heavy emphasis on family variables such as social class, education, and income, in combination with economic opportunities and social and industrial organization, as major forces which shape the individual's vocational development. To a less explicit extent, the personal values line of thought sees family and cultural factors as forces which shape values. Finally, the behavioral style approach necessarily assumes the importance of situational variables in determining the behavioral styles an individual learns, as well as providing a basis for eliciting these styles. Although not a category because they say nothing about either critical periods or critical agents, the trait-factor approaches form a final unit. This line of thought has nothing explicit to say about the forces which shape occupational behavior.

The Role of Interests in Career Development

Interests play an intimate role in career development theory, but the particular role is not typically stated in an explicit fashion in the theories of career development. Some theorists, like the Ginzberg group, assign

interests a significant role at a particular age period. Others, like Super and Roe, tie interests more directly to occupational behavior. Super's theory views interests as an aspect of the self-concept, whereas in Roe's theory interests derive from psychic energy and lead to one's fundamental orientation toward or away from people. Interests are seen as growing out of individual need hierarchies by the needs theorists; to the trait-factor theorists and Holland, interests are another aspect of the person-occupation equation, something to be assessed but not necessarily analyzed. The social systems and values approaches are likely to view interests as reflections of the forces of society and family.

The Role of Aptitudes in Career Development

Aptitudes are given varying emphasis by the theories. To the trait-factor theorists, including Holland, aptitudes comprise part of the equation involved in choice. Roe and the social systems approaches view aptitudes as genetically determined, and thus achievement is partly a function of heredity, but also the result of culture and environment. Neither Holland, Roe, nor the social systems view emphasize the role of aptitudes in career development, however. On the other hand, Super sees aptitudes as a factor to be considered in career decision making, an entity to be assessed and tested against reality. The needs and values approaches simply view the role of aptitudes in career development as a factor which interacts with the more critical variables, that is, needs or values. To the behavioral style theorist, aptitudes are part of the situational context both contributing to the situation and interacting with it, within which individuals' career behavior occurs. Finally, the Ginzberg group fails to consider aptitudes seriously, consistent with the psychoanalytic antecedents of its thought. Ginzberg and his associates do consider the role that unusual and highly specific talents play in overdetermining career development, such as the role of musical talent in the precocious musician's commitment to a musical career.

The Role of the Family in Career Development

In their usual manner, the personality approaches represented by trait-factor thought, needs, values, and behavioral style fail to discuss the role of family influences on career development in any distinctive manner. Values and needs are seen as being shaped in a vague way by the family context; the family contributes to the situational context as seen by the behavioral style approach and to the traits the individual develops with which the trait-factor theorist is concerned; not much more than passing attention is given to the family by proponents of these views.

The Ginzberg theory, Super, psychoanalytic thought, and social

systems views concern themselves with the family in a slightly more explicit way. To Super, the family plays a critical role in the formation of the individual's self-concept and in the provision of a context for its implementation. Psychoanalytic thought sees psychosexual development significantly influenced by the family structure and interactions of its members. To Ginzberg and the social systems theorists, the family creates a highly significant situation which will play a major role in determining the specifics of the career decisions an individual will make. It will determine his social class, financial resources, and attitudes toward work. In the view of the Ginzberg theorists, a poor family will accelerate the career development of their offspring, but will not alter the sequence through which he goes in any significant way. In addition, the lower class family is likely to be more passive in its general behavior and attitudes than middle or upper class families and thus its members may try to exert less direct influence on their career patterns than upper or middle class people. Only Roe rests the hub of a theory on the family. To Roe, the family plays a crucial role in determining, in fairly specific ways, the kinds of interactions with people that the youth will learn to develop.

It seems obvious that familial factors are important to career decisions, both in the determination of the situational variables involved in career development (such as educational, economic, hygienic and medical resources, social support and reinforcement, and the provision of a context for work) and in the intraindividual variables (such as the physical and psychological characteristics that have a strong genetic component). It is striking that so little theorizing has been done to explicitly relate the role of the family to occupational behavior, particularly when extensive data exist showing how the family background influences the kind of initial choice made and the manner in which it is implemented.

SUMMARY

The theories' strength lies in their general explanation of the way career decision making occurs. For formal adequacy as theories, much seems to be lacking. In general, the theories have failed to pay serious attention to the satisfaction of the criteria applied to the scientific evaluation of theory. There is a tendency to describe the career development process in very general terms, probably more general than is useful to researcher and practitioner alike. The major exception is Super's revised theory, which has taken on an applied and operational appearance.

Considerable data pertinent to career development and occupational psychology have been accumulated in theoretical terms. If closer ties to psychological theory existed, the theories would be strengthened. Some

signs of the development of closer ties exist, and these signs auger well for the increasing adequacy and potency of career development theory in years to come.

Generally, most of the theories are similar; they emphasize the same kinds of critical agents and periods in career development. The differences between the theories lie in their choice of emphasis, the research methods suitable to each, and the degree to which they specify the relations between various events.

As a conceptual model, Super's theory seems to be the most highly developed and advanced. This is reflected in its explicitness, its fairly high degree of empirical support, and its substantially larger number of applications to human affairs. The personality style approach, on the other hand, seems to be the most amenable to the experimental and scientific method and the closest to basic psychological concepts.

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